

WORKING PAPER
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Demographic patterns, family structures and social reproduction in Portuguese maritime communities (The Vila do Conde case study (16th-17th. centuries))

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This study is conducted from the perspective of a social analysis of a maritime community, and aims to present a model of family structures and demographic patterns observable in a maritime Portuguese community in the 16th century. Studies centred on the social, demographic and family practices of maritime populations in its interaction with a more extended seaport community are rare in the Portuguese historiography.

When we talk of maritime populations, we are not in any way referring to a homogeneous block from the viewpoint of social practices. The study of fishing communities points to social practices that are distinct from long-haul seafaring or merchant communities. The study of a seafaring community further implies pointing out the difference between captains, pilots, ship owners, and the segments of sailors or cabin boys. United in professional practice, these groups are located in distinct socio-economic segments and define different relations of social belonging and intergroup solidarity. That is, socially speaking, a given society may experience divisions between maritime and non-maritime populations, but, among them, there are a number of other types of divisions, between fishermen and sailors; between seafaring higher technical bodies and more undifferentiated strata, all of which could lead to a discussion on the issue of the identity(ies) of maritime populations.

On the other hand, the social dynamics of a seaport society depends on the predominant economic activities, and on the combination of events which to any extent favour them, or not. Thus, social studies often imply prior studies of an economic nature. In fact, fishing ports seem to offer, from a social point of view, greater permanency, greater stability, and a more sustained social balance, even when their economic development is not particularly significant. These can be further differentiated into coastal fishing ports and deep-sea fishing ports. In turn, commercial and transportation ports are more dependent on specific conjunctural cycles, of greater or lesser duration, and on their capacity to adapt to new contexts and new commercial occupations. For this reason, these ports are subject to greater instability and the definition of conjunctural cycles is mirrored in social life. In other words, the economic evolutions and specificities of a maritime society directly affect the type and differential weight of the population and socio-professional segments within a given society, and define factors of stagnation, crisis or sustained development which are inevitably reflected in the social composition and dynamics. It is thus of great importance that the profile of the community we propose to analyse in this paper be clearly defined, as well as the specific context in which this profile is drawn.

This paper presents some conclusions based on a case study, centred on a small Portuguese maritime town involved in overseas navigation and trade circuits during the 16th century. It further questions how the overseas expansion reflects on demographic patterns and models of group reproduction.

We intend to develop this approach at three levels:

1. Examine the implications of male absences in the demographic system of a maritime community deeply involved in maritime overseas activities;
2. Detect the changes of patterns introduced in demographic patterns and family structures and in some forms of sociability in spaces that are profoundly marked by contexts traditionally dominated by men who depart as agents in the processes of overseas navigation, trade and emigration;
3. Discuss how the social reproduction mechanisms, namely those connected with marriage strategies contributes, or not, to the strength of a group identity, through endogamic or exogamic deliberated connections.

This paper is a summary approach that integrates contributions partially presented in other studies¹. It is also the result of an empirical research presented in 2000 at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto by a doctoral assessment². Its conclusions were drawn from an analysis of documental corpora that include, mostly, parish registers, but also notarised deeds and Inquisition proceedings, covering the period from 1500 to 1640.

Even though the functional model hereby presented cannot be uncritically generalised to other coastal spaces and to other societies strongly marked by maritime economics and experiences dedicated to overseas expansion, we believe that general aspects can be highlighted, which structurally frame the vast social dynamics found within Portuguese maritime spaces during the 16th and 17th centuries.

I. Demographic patterns and family models

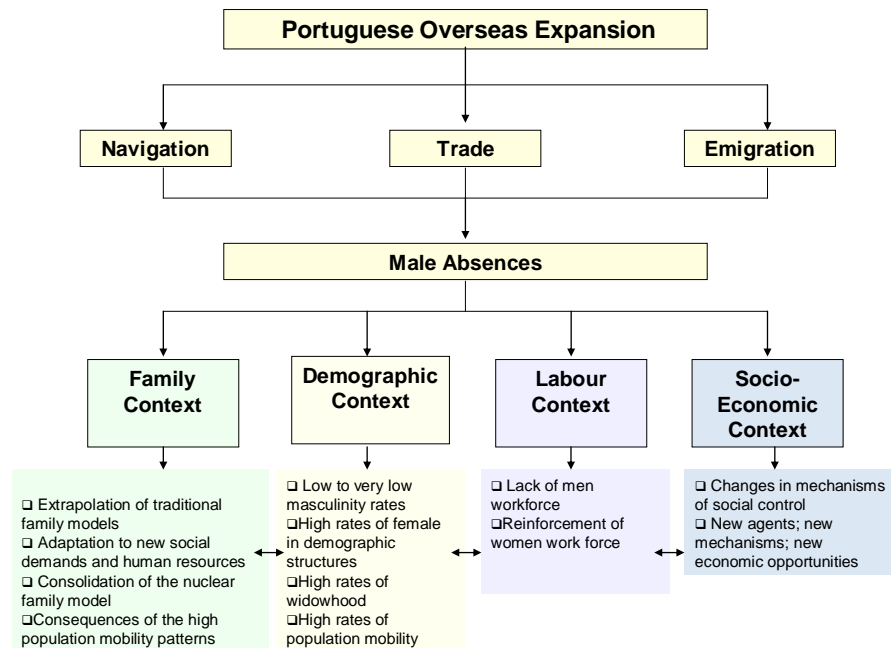
Our thesis sustains that the particular conditions created by the Portuguese overseas expansion in the 15th and 16th centuries had a significant impact on maritime communities. Underlying this phenomenon is the absence of men and its consequences on the economic, societal, family and demographic structures, most noticeable in maritime cities.

The following diagram summarises our position

Diagram 1. Socio-economic implications of Portuguese Overseas Expansion in maritime communities

¹ POLÓNIA, Amélia (2000); POLÓNIA, Amélia (2002); POLÓNIA, Amélia (2004); POLÓNIA, Amélia (2006a); POLÓNIA, Amélia (2006b); POLÓNIA, Amélia (2007);

² POLÓNIA, Amélia (1999). Published in POLÓNIA (2007)



Source: POLÓNIA

Four types of correlations are shown: one is established with economic dynamics, namely in labour contexts, the other with social behaviour, the third with demographics and the fourth with family structures. Let's centre only on the two last ones. To approach this subject properly, a case study is helpful, and we are going to focus on Vila do Conde in the 16th century to enable us to understand the specific circumstances and variables, under which the main issues in question interact.

Vila do Conde was a relatively unimportant seaport and a small district capital whose almost non-existent hinterland could neither provide its internal needs nor attract investment in the land, or farming. The sea was, for geographical reasons, its natural prospective domain. The town was deeply involved with trade, navigation and colonization, and with their logistical support, through shipbuilding and sail-making industries, since the very beginning of overseas expansion.

Such maritime vocation was projected in a socio-professional structure which was, from 1568-70, monopolised by people linked to seafaring activities, especially sailing, with the number of pilots and sailors being dominant. Those whom we may call seamen accounted for 60% of the professional structure. Voyages, especially overseas expeditions, appear to have been directly responsible for male absences. Overseas expeditions, trade and emigration abroad were aspects that nourished this flow: a draining away of male agents, whether transitory or permanent, short or long.

The extent of the phenomenon is, in Vila do Conde, typically expressed in a declaration by Council officials where they said in 1643 that there were not one hundred and fifty households with a male agent³ in the town, out of a total of 1200 to 1300 homes identified at that period⁴: a percentage which is

"...na terra não avia semto e cincoemta casas de homens ..." A.S.C.M.V.C. (Vila do Conde Fraternity of

very low. Even if we consider it may be exaggerated, the information is quite clear as to the town's tendency to male depopulation. This is also borne out by the urban masculinity rate, when calculated on the basis either of the birth and the death registers. Overseas expeditions, trade and emigration abroad were aspects that nourished the same flow: a draining of male agents, whether transitory or permanent. This is borne out by the urban masculinity ratio that in the town studied revealed a clear discrepancy in relation to the expected rates.

Table 1
Comparative Masculinity Ratios

Periods	Masculinity ratio at birth	Masculinity ratio at death
1535 - 1540	92.3	
1541 - 1550	97.3	
1551 - 1560	99.3	
1561 - 1570	100.5	
1571 - 1580	113	
1581 - 1590	107.9	
1591 - 1600	92.5	44.3
1601 - 1610	89.2	63.4
1611 - 1620	96.9	59
1621 - 1630	111.7	77.4
1631 - 1640	131.7	65.9
Average	101.1	64.1

Source: A.D.P. (District Archive of Porto) – Parish Records. V. Conde, Baptisms, Lv. 1 and 2; Deaths, Lv. 1

When we compare those values with reference ratios proposed by Louis Henry for European societies, rounding the average value of 105⁵, we find that, for birth, the ratio is lower than the reference value, but it remains within confidence limits. For death, however, the gaps are so obvious that we have no doubts with regard to the incidence, in this particular demographic structure, of the male contingent's draining away. The values obtained based on baptism records are thus close to those pointed out as normal in historical demographics, but, on the contrary, the results obtained from death records present profound variance, where the adult male rate presents values far below the expected. In a direct correlation, there is an unavoidable increase of the female rates in this population universe.

Such a situation has incidence both in economic, social and family contexts and led to profound consequences in the society in study, both negative and positive, in terms of the impacts felt in the demographic, family and social universes.

Misericórdia Archive) - Mç. de Requerimentos Antigos, fl. 16-16v.

⁴ We refer to the demographic calculation, which shows 1200 households in 1552, and 1500 in 1602. Cf. POLÓNIA (1999), Vol. I, p. 229 (Table 5).

⁵ HENRY (1988), p. 26-29.

Among the negative consequences, we can point out phenomena of family structure breakdown, provoked by occurrences of concubinage and/or bigamy; by practices of second marriages and by the constitution of second families overseas; situations of family abandonment and lack of provision; or of deviant sexual and social behaviours, as is the case of female homosexuality, highly penalised by judicial institutions – both civil and ecclesiastic. In the case study presented, all these occurrences are documented in Inquisition proceedings.

Among the positive consequences, we can highlight how female roles expanded. The analyse undertaken for the Vila do Conde society, based mostly in notarised records, points to a clear increase in the roles undertaken by women who, in the absence of men, took charge of functions which would usually be considered out of their competence. These functions included, besides educating, endowing and marrying their children, taking charge of their own family transactions, which they managed with skill and aggression.

If we look at the sociological profile of the women involved in notarised deeds in Vila do Conde, we find a clear prevalence of those who are related to seamen, mostly pilots. The presence of female relatives of merchants is equally conspicuous, even if the gap is significant. The scale of this representation is clear when we consider that 75% of the women are relatives of pilots, skippers and seamen.

Table 2
Family relations of women involved in notary acts

Professional grouping of direct family members	Number	%
Clergymen	1	0.1
Military men	1	0.1
Squires/ Knights	29	3.6
Officials	45	5.6
Mechanics	47	5.9
Merchants	75	9.4
Seamen/ Skippers/ Pilots	601	75.2
Total	799	100

Source: A.D.P. - (Notary Records). Vila do Conde, 1^o cart., 1^a, 2^a, 3^a and 4^a sr., *passim*.

Source: A.D.P.(District Archive of Porto). Notary Records V. Conde, 1^o cart., 1^a, 2^a, 3^a and 4^a sr., *passim*.

Analysing this universe in terms of marital status, we find what was to be expected: the prevalence of widows among participants in notary acts: 63.5% of the women belong to this category, while 31% are married and only 5.5% single. Single parent families, resulting from the husband's death, naturally imply obligations and functions for women that increase their duties. The strong showing of

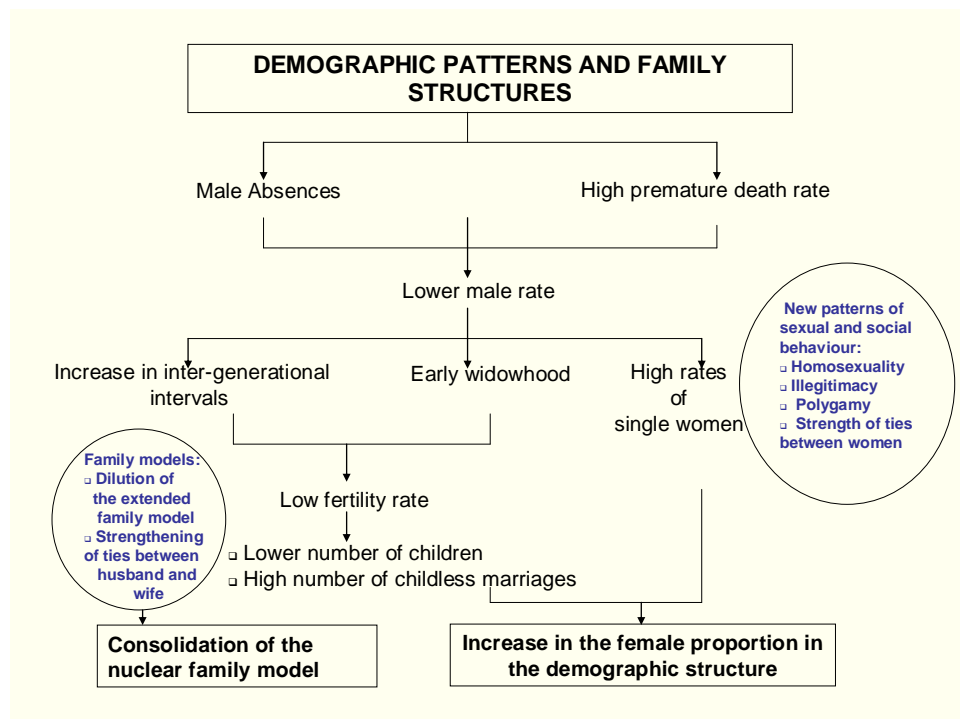
widows in our sample is therefore understandable. The significant role of married women is, on the other hand, associated with the male absence in this maritime society, which is responsible for the transfer to their wives of responsibilities and duties that they would otherwise not perform.

Table 3

Women in notary acts - Distribution according to marital status

Marital Status	Number	%
Single	59	5.5
Married	332	31
Widowed	681	63.5
Sub-Total	1072	100
Nuns	16	
Unspecified	129	
Total	1217	

Finally, we will now dedicate some attention to the demographic and family spheres (Diagram 2).



Source: POLÓNIA

We have already highlighted the link between overseas expansion, in terms of both shipping and emigration, and the high proportion of urban female population, due to the temporary or definitive absence of men. Low fertility rates, caused by large inter-generational gaps, marriages without children, a

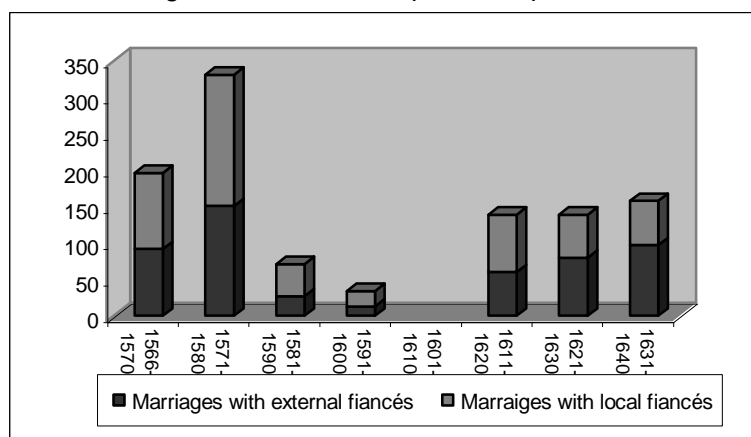
considerable number of unmarried women, and a high rate of early widowhood emerge as understandable demographic outcomes of these circumstances.

One of the main consequences of this scenario are single parent families, that confer to women the status of heads of households. As a result, there is an increase in the number of women who appear as responsible for the maintenance of family order, in particular in families of seamen, merchants and shipbuilders, groups that represent the most significant proportion of the active male population in the town under study.

At the same time, the economic situation analysed above also had a considerable impact in terms of demographic and family contexts. The growing demand for female labour and economic participation gave single women and widows a better chance to be self-sufficient, leading to lower rates of marriage and remarriage, as well as increasing the part played by married women in family income and social control.

In our case study, population mobility, documented in studies carried out in historical demographics for the area and chronology analysed, decisively contributed to other differential phenomena. This is an accurate conclusion of the analysis of the marriage records. We can see high rates of exogenous marriages, involving mostly male agents. Between 1560 and 1620, the percentage of marriages involving couples from the exterior varies between 38 and 61% of the total.

Graph 1
Marriages in Vila do Conde (1566-1640)



Source: A.D.P. – Parish Records. V. Conde . Marriages. Book. 1 and 2

By attracting a vast young male population coming from the agricultural hinterland surrounding the seaports, these spaces concentrate a large number of uprooted individuals. Even when they marry, their family roots continue precarious⁶.

This uprootedness, resulting from massive male migration, together with significant female migration, although lower in number, also tends to contribute to the dilution of an extended family model and reinforces a nuclear-type family organisation, where the ties between husband and wife are

⁶ cf. POLÓNIA (1999), vol. I, p. 254 .

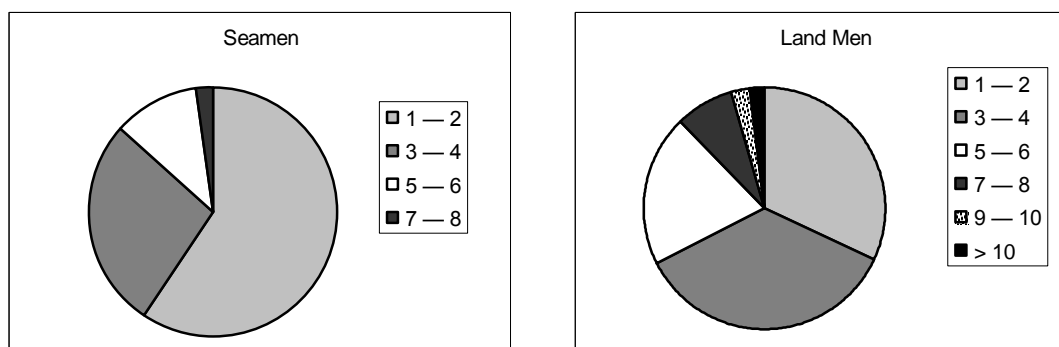
strengthened, so often underpinned by the absence of children. In population universes where the absence of men produces fewer children per family, thus contributing to increases in inter-generational intervals, childless marriages are not in the least exceptional. A study of births occurring in two different groups, that of land men and seamen, clearly shows the demographic behaviours dictated by maritime lifestyles, which cannot but be mirrored in the female universe, whether in the lower number of children per family, whether in recurrent situations of widowhood without children.

Table 4
Number of children per family

Number of Children	Seamen		Land Men	
	Nº	%	Nº	%
1 — 2	159	59.3	78	32
3 — 4	73	27.2	87	35.7
5 — 6	30	11.2	49	20.1
7 — 8	6	2.2	19	7.8
9 — 10	—	—	6	2.5
> 10	—	—	5	2
Total of occurrences with registered events	268	100	244	100
Occurrences without registered events	132	33	56	18.7
Total	400		300	

Source: A.D.P.- Parish Records. V. Conde . Baptisms, lv. 1 e 2

Graph 2
Number of children per family



Source: Table 4

This panorama is immediately reflected in the average values we obtained, relative to the number of children per family: 2.5 children in the case of seamen and 4 (more precisely, 3.9) in the case of land men. These values, together with the scenario so far analysed, present irrefutable evidence of the existence of differentiated demographic behaviour between these two groups, necessarily resulting from the distinct demands linked to their socio-professional occupations. This also means that we cannot identify any specificity between pilots and mariners in terms of birth rate, an area in which they were bound by the same professional contingencies.

It is also important that we relate what we have said before on the number of children per family with the analysis resulting from a study of intergenetic intervals. Both issues are, understandably,

inevitably linked, since a lower birth rate can result both from a marriage interrupted by the untimely death of one of the spouses, and from low fertility rates. One of the factors which influences this variable is clearly the frequency of sexual contact between the spouses. Thus, we contend that the absence of men at sea, dictated by long-haul sailing, is the touchstone in a study into this matter. The results presented in table 5 show how this factor performs in our universe of analysis.

Table 5
Intergenic Intervals

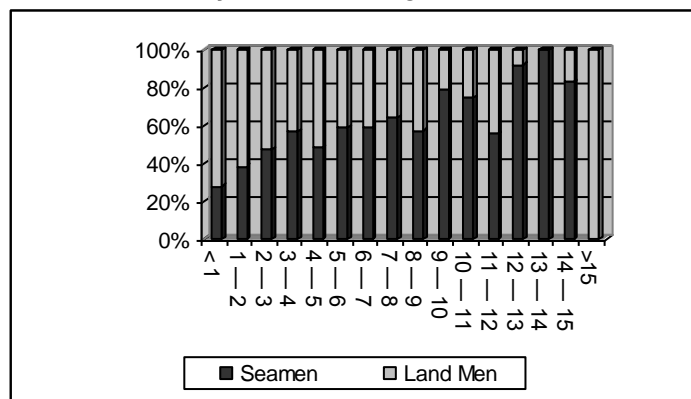
Intergenic Intervals (in years)	Seamen		Land Men	
	Nº	%	Nº	%
< 1	2	0.5	9	1.3
1 — 2	73	17.9	200	28.7
2 — 3	123	30.1	234	33.5
3 — 4	72	17.6	93	13.3
4 — 5	36	8.8	66	9.5
5 — 6	30	7.4	36	5.2
6 — 7	17	4.2	20	2.9
7 — 8	12	2.9	11	1.6
8 — 9	11	2.7	14	2.0
9 — 10	14	3.4	6	0.9
10 — 11	5	1.2	3	0.4
11 — 12	2	0.5	3	0.4
12 — 13	5	1.2	1	0.1
13 — 14	4	1.0	0	0.0
14 — 15	2	0.5	1	0.1
>15	0	0.0	1	0.1
Total	408	100	698	100

Source: A.D.P.. Fundo Paroquial (Parish Records). V. Conde . Baptisms, lv. 1 e 2

The diversity of the values obtained is immediately clear from a comparative analysis. If we exclude the intervals below 1 year (corresponding to an 11-month interval between two births), exceptional in both samples, the opposed character of the tendencies dominates. Note for example the differential weight of the two variables, that of land men and seamen, relative particularly to the intervals 1-2 and 2-3 years (graph 3).

Graph 3

Intergenic Intervals (in years). Percentage distribution of the occurrences



Source: Table 7

As a result of this demographic framework, we find cases of destructured families, as well as cases where bonds of trust become closer between husband and wife. These can be found recorded in proxies and wills. This trust is also extended to and visible in the world of business, where husbands transfer economic responsibilities to their wives, thus revealing a clear relationship of trust⁷.

To sum up, the statistical treatment of demographic data points, with no doubts, to different demographic patterns between the families of seamen and landmen, with inevitable projection on family structures and family models.

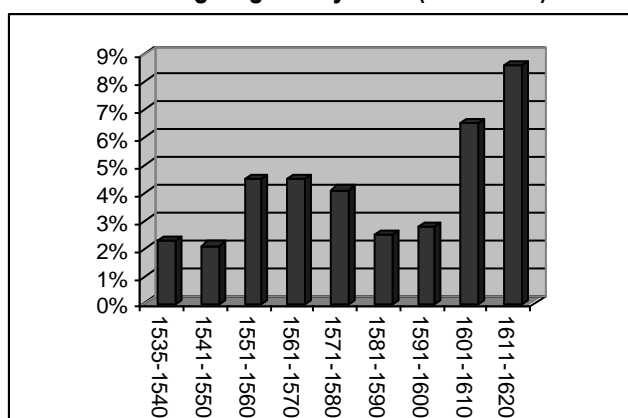
Besides that, the high mobility rates documented, as well as the presence of a significant slave community in this particular seaport, in the 16th. and 17th. centuries is responsible for different sexual behaviours; for the inadequacy of former mechanisms of social control and the difficulty to control high levels of prostitution and the increasing rates of illegitimacy. Let's focus on the second indicator. The data available points to the following evolution:

Table 6
Illegitimacy rates (1535-1620)

Décadas	Nº ilegítimos / Nº total baptismos	Taxa de ilegitimidade
1535-1540	13 / 577	2,3%
1541-1550	19 / 889	2,1%
1551-1560	13 / 289	4,5%
1561-1570	48 / 1197	4,5%
1571-1580	25 / 612	4,1%
1581-1590	24 / 954	2,5%
1591-1600	23 / 823	2,8%
1601-1610	43 / 665	6,5%
1611-1620	51 / 594	8,6%
Total	259 / 6600	3,9%

Source: A.D.P. – Parish records. V. Conde. Baptisms, lv. 1 - 2

Graph 4
Evolving illegitimacy rates (1535-1620)



Source: Table 6

⁷ All these scenarios are described in detail in the study developed in POLÓNIA (1999), vol. I, p. 808-811 and 814-816.

The groups and agents where this phenomena prevails and assume higher rates are the prostitutes and the slave community (only this one takes 31,5% of the occurrences), where recognised marriages are rare. It transcends, however, as we are well aware, these groups, and extends, in a transversal way, to several socio-economic levels. Soldiers mobility in times of war, and seafarers mobility throw the all period under analysis are specific factors pointed out by the sources as responsible for the rates and illegitimacy values identified, which are, as we can testify, clearly increasing overtimes⁸.

II. Mechanisms of Social Reproduction

Can we establish, based on this scenario, in which we clearly identify differential demographic patterns in seamen families, be connected with the existence of a sense of identity in this maritime community? Are we able to establish internal differential behaviours between pilots and captains and seafarers or between these ones and fishermen? Unfortunately, this last comparison is not available for us, since fishermen are just almost not mentioned on the sources⁹. In what regards the demographic, patterns they are similar to the different sub-maritime groups, since the variable which interacts with it is the absence of men, resulting from maritime expeditions or migratory flows – common to all ranges of seamen. The question may, anyway, be enlightened trough another approach: the data available for the marriage strategies.

Marriage strategies and choices reflect, in fact, decisions which impact in mechanisms of social reproduction, able to sustain and increase the sense of identity within a group. Family transmission of the professional status on one hand, and marriages inside or outside the group on the other hand, should be considered. Three ways should be considered in what regards the maintenance or the establishment of parental links between seamen: by a direct line, involving the transference of the job from generation to generation, throw the male descendents, throw a consanguineous line (code A); throw marriage alliances, using both male and female descendants of seamen, thus by collateral lines (code B) and by marriage contracts that explicitly intends to reinforce nets of seamen (for example, a wife of a seaman, when widow, remarries with a seamen; or: both partners of this second marriage decide to marry their own sun and daughter with each other (occurrences documented) (codeC).

In an universe of 296 seamen able to be analysed throw this focus, the results distribute as follows:

Table 7
Family links (1500- 1620)

Code	Nº of occurrences	%	Codes (Total accumulated)	Nº of occurrences	%
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⁸ Further analysis on this: POLÒNIA, 1999, II:

⁹ Justifications for this fact should be discussed in other stages and are directly associated with legal privileges and self-representation issues.

A	74	25	A	120	34,7
A/B	41	13,9			
A/C	4	1,4			
A/B/C	1	0,3			
B	164	55,4	B	209	60,4
B/C	3	1			
C	9	3	C	17	4,9
Total	296	100		346	100

Legend: Code A- Consanguine links; B.- Collateral non-consanguine links; Code C – Second marriages endogamic

It seems obvious by the analysis of the numbers that connections through marriage policies prevail (the addition of B plus C is equal to 65% of the sample). However, we shouldn't forget the source criticism: while marriages imply, eventually, the existence of notary or other public contracts, the most simple and common transmission of the job from father to son doesn't require any specific register and may escape easily to the account of the historian.

When inquired the same sample in what regards the professional preferences inside and outside the seamen universe, in what regards marriage policies, the data seem, as well, very clear

Table 8

Professional connections established by marriage contracts (1560-1620)

Professional combinations	Nº	%
Pilots / Pilots	6	9,1
Pilots / Seafarers	26	39,4
Seafarers / Seafarers	13	19,7
Pilots / Merchants	9	13,6
Seafarers / Merchants	4	6,1
Pilots / Other jobs	6	9,1
Seafarers / Other jobs	2	3
Subtotal	66	100
Total of mentions to professions	66	62,9
Pilots / Jobs not mentioned	20	19
Seafarers / Jobs not mentioned	19	18,1
Total	105	100

Source: Marriage contracts in A.D.P. – Notary records. V. Conde, 1º cart., 1ª, 2ª, 3ª e 4ª sr.

In a first analysis, the internal endogamic connections seem obvious and intentional, within the limitations imposed by the sources and by a game of probabilities calculated for a population of about 5000 individuals. We are able to sum a rate of 68,2% endogamic marriages. If included the related group of merchants in these strategies, the rate goes up to 72,8%. A simple distribution in a time line shows us, however, that those are not static tendencies:

Table 9
Professional connections established by marriage contracts (1560-1620) – Evolution

Decades	Pilots / Seafarers	%	Pilotos - Seafarers / Merchants	%	Pilots- Seafarers/ Others	%	Total	%	Partner with no profession mentioned	%	Total	%
1560-1570	14	93,3			1	6,6	15	100	3	16,6	18	100
1571-1580	7	70	2	20	1	10	10	100	5	33,3	15	100
1581-1590	6	60	3	30	1	10	10	100	7	41,2	17	100
1591-1600	3	27,3	4	36,4	4	36,4	11	100	4	26,7	15	100
1601-1610	13	81,3	3	18,7			16	100	11	40,7	27	100
1611-1620	2	50	1	25	1	25	4	100	9	69,2	13	100
Total	45		13				66		39		105	

Source: Marriage contracts in A.D.P. – Notary records. V. Conde, 1º cart., 1ª, 2ª, 3ª e 4ª sr.

From this distribution, let's just take, at this moment, the pointer to the increase of external connections from the nineties of the sixteenth Century on, precisely when the crisis felt in the maritime overseas dominium of the Portuguese is more intense. Does it mean that conjunctural frames condition those options and strategies? If so, what to say about the consolidation of those endogamic games as mechanisms of reinforcement of identity patterns in maritime communities? Let's let this topic open to discussion.

Despite the significance of these evolving mechanisms, one thing is certain: internal endogamic mechanisms of social reproduction are in place in this seamen community, and they can be measured by the dimension of some genealogies of seamen, which reconstitution remains fragmentary and incomplete.

Table 10
Endogamic connections – Number of individuals involved in family nets of seamen

Nº de individuals	Pilots		Seafarers		Total	
	Nº of occurrences	%	Nº of occurrences	%	Nº of occurrences	%
2	50	64,9	23	88,5	73	70,9
3	9	11,7	2	7,7	11	10,7
4	8	10,4	1	3,8	9	8,7
5	4	5,2			4	3,9
7	1	1,3			1	1
8	1	1,3			1	1
9	1	1,3			1	1
14	1	1,3			1	1
18	1	1,3			1	1
19	1	1,3			1	1
Total	77	100	26	100	103	100

As an example, we can visualise the genealogy of the so called “Doctors” family, one of the several well known seamen families in Vila do Conde, which points out to the existence of several generations related with the sea.

Summing up...

The picture we have outlined based on the case study of the small coastal town of Vila do Conde, should not, however, be uncritically expanded to the large Portuguese cities, such as Lisbon and Porto, nor to the wider world of business, due to the lack of monographic studies. We must bear in mind the specific reality of Vila do Conde, which embodies a very precise socio-demographic and economic situation we tried to underline, namely a socio-professional structure in which activities linked to maritime transport and trade clearly prevail.

Even if his study highlights some traits equally underlined, for instance, in studies on maritime societies produced by French historiography¹⁰, we should note that the effective impact of behaviours and tendencies here pointed out differ, within a maritime society, according to the effective weight of the professional groups linked to the sea, namely sailors, in the urban community as a whole. If we take into consideration that the weight of these sub-communities tends to be greater the smaller the dimension of the urban space in which it is integrated, the model here presented may be especially valid for small maritime communities, but it is possibly less relevant in medium-sized ports or large sea port cities. This is not because the phenomena focused do not occur, dictated as they are by maritime experiences and male absences, but rather because their global effects and their impact could, maybe, become diluted in a society where a more complex professional structure prevails.

Similarly, the model's primary aims his legitimacy in maritime societies linked to navigation and overseas trade, which present different contours to those found in fishing ports and in the world of fishermen. In this area, anthropological and historical studies point to a demographic, family, work and even religious model that is notoriously different from the one we were able to construct for the case in study. We cannot, for this reason, transport the conclusions found, based on the study of a universe of sailors and merchants, to other maritime universes, especially those of fishermen. Regardless of the experiences they share in a life at sea, it is important that specific identities can be captured, even within the internal sub-universe of the maritime communities.

¹⁰ CABANTOUS (1990) ; CABANTOUS (1991).

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